

CPYRGHT

## Reorganization for Foreign Policy Planning

President-elect Kennedy's statements before and during the campaign and his selection of Dean Rusk, Chester Bowles, and Adlai Stevenson for the highest posts in the Department of State clearly indicate that we are about to have a review and redirection of U.S. foreign policy more radical than any since 1945, perhaps even the most radical in our history.

Although necessary, fundamental changes in our foreign policy will involve grave dangers—at the least tactical errors and set-backs are to be expected and at the worst the general disintegration of our position or the upsetting of the delicate military balance could occur.

Prime responsibility for policy rests with the National Security Council and the Planning Board. This apparatus is essentially a means of communication and coordination of executive departments and offices.

The adequacy of the work of this apparatus will be affected seriously by the work of the planning staffs of the various departments, and especially by the caliber of the output of the Policy Planning Staff in the Department of State.

By viewing the sweep of policy over a period of time, the Policy Planning Staff provides a degree of over all integration which otherwise would be missing in the handling of individual problems arising in the day-by-day flux of affairs.

I believe that besides its present duties the Policy Planning Staff ought to be charged with the following three functions: (1) To develop a framework or a set of alternative frameworks, within which the maximum possible integration of U.S. foreign policy may be accomplished; (2) To uncover opportunities for altogether new lines of action and to suggest radical reformulations of policy; (3) To examine and

criticize both the execution of policy and the entire process of policy formulation.

It may be argued that these theoretical, creative, and critical functions are and should be performed by independent scholars, by the political opposition, and by the press.

However, even with the promised increase in publicity of Government operations it will remain difficult for anyone outside the Government to perform them adequately. Moreover, few individuals operating independently can devote their full time and attention to such work.

Finally, the refinement of framework construction, idea origination, and fault finding necessary to make these processes really valuable cannot be attained without immediate and constant communication among a substantial group engaged in the work.

Consequently, I suggest that the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State be reorganized into two sections which should work independently of one another.

One section, which might be called "the Practical Planning Group," should be composed of individuals who share in so far as possible the outlook and inclinations of the President and his chief officers.

It should be charged with the following duties: To specify in operational terms the objectives of U.S. foreign policy; To observe opportunities for concrete action in accord with lines of policy indicated by the Secretary of State; To anticipate difficulties which changing conditions and the implementation of novel policies eventually may engender and to formulate means for dealing with such difficulties; To direct and integrate the work of the planning advisors in the bureaus; To make recommendations based on its findings to the Secretary of State; To advise the Secretary concerning current problems requiring his decision; To as-

sist the Secretary in his work on the National Security Council.

This Practical Planning Group should have at its disposal sufficient resources to make use of external consultants and research groups to the extent it deems desirable, but it should remain in itself a compact group about the size of the present Policy Planning Staff, which has 10 or 12 members.

The other section of the reorganized planning staff, which might be called "the Policy Research Institute," should be composed of individuals of the most diverse possible outlooks and inclinations.

The Policy Research Institute should be charged with the following duties: To investigate the nature of policy and the changing role of the United States in the world, and to develop a framework, or a set of alternative frameworks, within which our foreign policy can be given maximum integration, realization, and flexibility; To examine the presuppositions of existing policy and to formulate possible new policies and to reformulate old ones; To examine continuously the entire process of the formulation and execution of foreign policy; To communicate freely to the Secretary of State whatever it deems desirable.

The members of this Institute should work independently of one another for the most part and they should be furnished with small individual research staffs. The Institute should hold regular and frequent seminars at which its members will offer their work for discussion and criticism by their colleagues. However, no consensus should be required and any member should be able to communicate with the Secretary of State independently.

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